Suráŋa
Pakidái

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
198 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
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46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waikâ, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xirišna, and Waikâ (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

• 291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxf -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/28 cont./

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[191]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

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[191]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

/28 cont./

291 114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may [833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291 184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xirišna, Pusheweteri, and Aramametteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
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148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramamateri, Karauateri, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanomámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
171 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
174 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
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152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

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Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

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Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

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Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

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Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

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From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriána and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriána men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ When Koch-Grünberg saw
194 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
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181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
194 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

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292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waikâ (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

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190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterf women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove ● 291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64 ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanomámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

Surara
Pakidai

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

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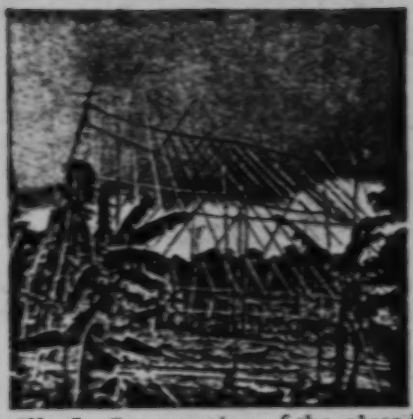
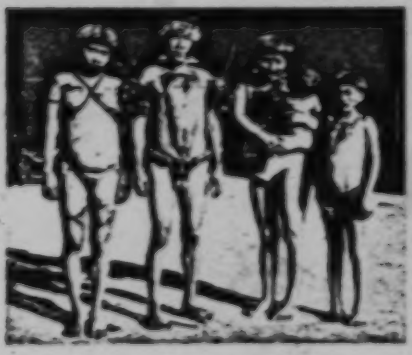


Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái
/6/
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Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-S (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewetéri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewetéri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

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Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

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Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

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Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

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142
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Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

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516

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

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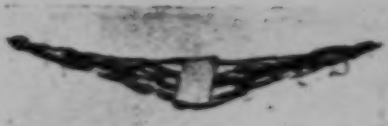
302
304

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí



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Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

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Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/ Surara Pakidái

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Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemño is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sutára
Pakidái

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Ill. 44. Sutára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

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Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

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Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

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Ill. 48. Petapoanhamũ -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
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Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

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Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [197] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

411 [324] The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

● 291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

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Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

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A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

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Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

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Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

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Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

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Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

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[344]

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

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Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'fare SS20

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

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10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waruna's brothers-in-law.*

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[301]
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[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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13. *For the Shyriana, lianas provide a continuation of the forest track.*

[P.96-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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14. *On the river Waqua: a sloth.*

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

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19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20
M
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Y
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21. *The Indians of La Paragua have lost all but a shadow of their old proud personalities. Left to right: - Sepali, Pedro, Suba, Pedro's wife, Sempronio, Thomasso. Enrico in background.*

[p 96 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 feminine. The hard struggle for existence is naturally reflected more strongly
142 in the women, the bearers of the race.

On the whole the Samatari, just as they speak much the same language, differ very little in other ways from the rest of the Shirians, except in so far as they are, so to speak, more typical. They represent the nearest approximation to the ideal Shirian, the physical symbol of the whole race. And paradoxically this 'ideal' quality could be seen in all four somatic varieties: each seemed the prototype of its kind.

As regards the pygmies, who were very much in the minority, it seems to me that here we have an ancient, autochthonous race, formerly conquered and then later assimilated by the Shirians, on an equal footing. To infer the reverse of this process would be absurd.

123 The women were completely naked. Combined with their hairlessness and
291 their filth, this hardly increased their feminine charm. The men went naked too, but following the custom of such Indians as wear no loincloth, their genitals were gathered up and bound tight to the lower belly with a string of liana wound round the body. However strange it may seem, this usage has nothing to do with modesty, being simply a device to keep one's unmentionables from getting caught on thorny undergrowth in the woods.

IV

The Samatari gradually retired to the shelter of the palm leaves, leaving only the roughest customers still hanging round Enrico and me. We were together again at last, while our Guayca guides had mysteriously disappeared into some hidden quarter of the encampment. As a last straw, parties who had been out hunting began to straggle back, a few at a time, while it was still daylight. Each little band of newcomers had no idea we were there, and each time we had to go through the same near-massacre.

Those who had already inspected us and qualified as experts on the nature of bearded men shouted the news to those who came later, well before they reached the camp-fire zone. These late-comers would run up to us and when they saw us, stop suddenly, with an expression of bemused cupidity filling their eyes. Then, uttering sharp little howls that reminded me of the jubilant yapping of a beast that has cornered its prey, they would hurl themselves on us

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24. *Carmine undergoes anatomical inspection at Shyriss hands.*

[p. 144-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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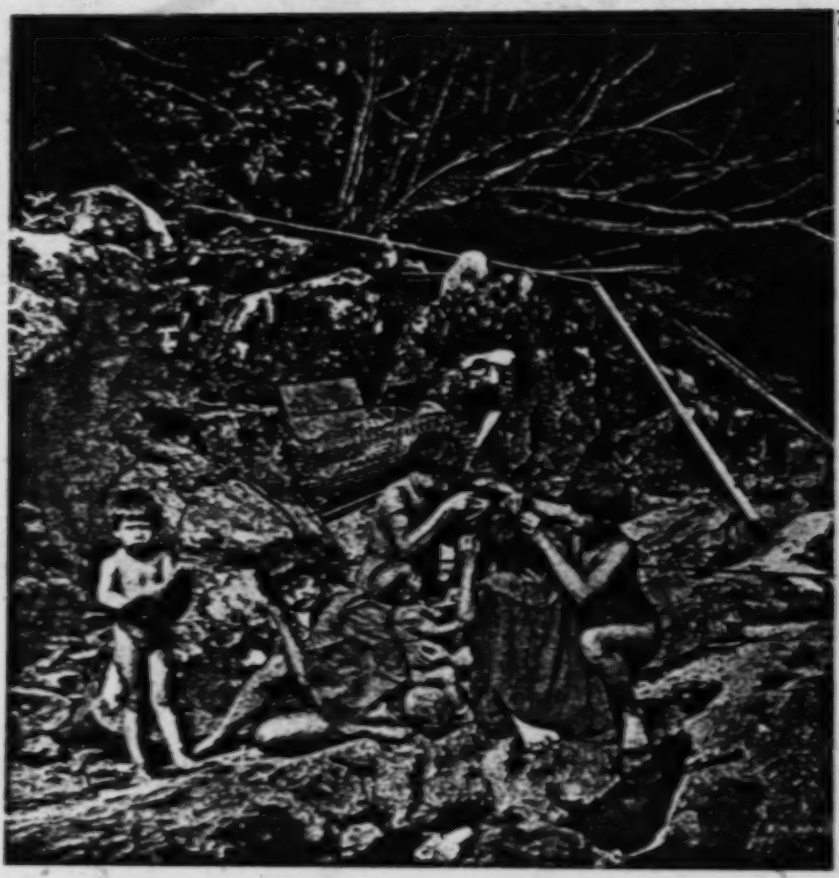

50. While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.

[p. 192 - H]

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

• 291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

[177] There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

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The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

Plate V

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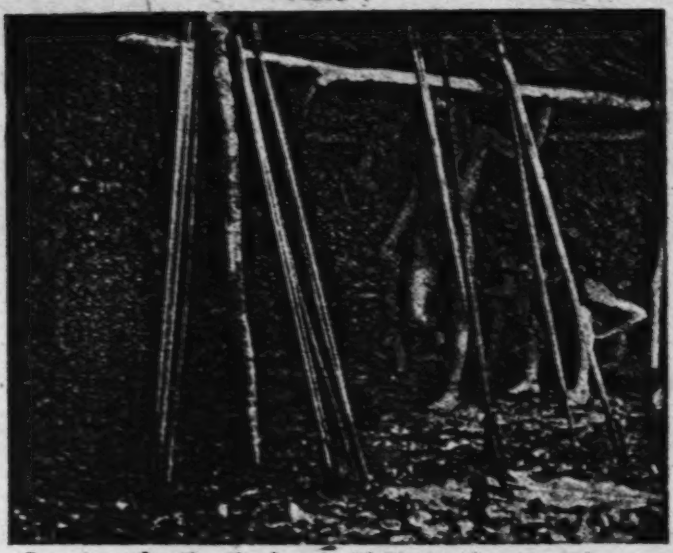

Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

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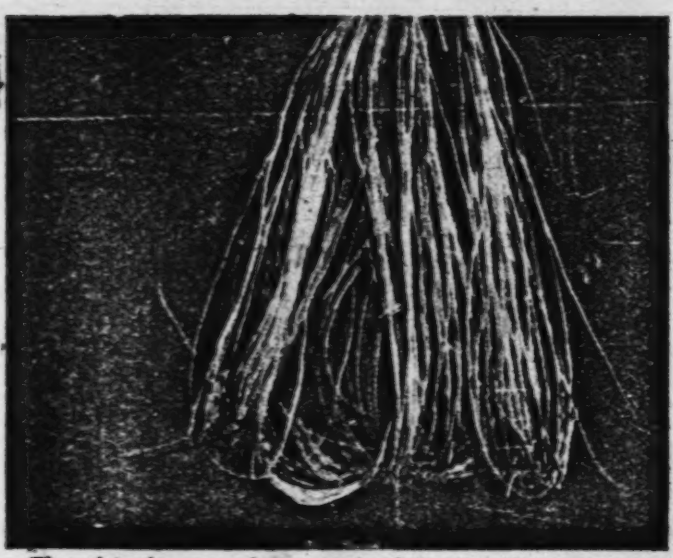

The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

8: Barker--11 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

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TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

[p. 96 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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Waika Indian of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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Waika family of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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[609]
entered. It was deserted ; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

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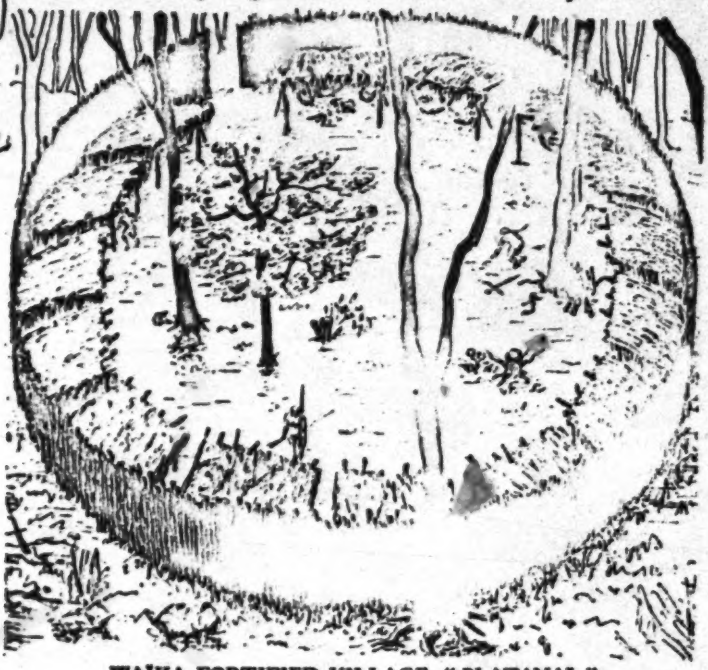
[291]



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WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

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[291]
first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.
[302]
All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering ; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

291 segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through
[304] the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and
[301] nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

796 Other than the social feasts held during the dry
527 season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, puri-
881 fication rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a
727 vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts
783 during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed
762 in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.
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796 The puberty rite for females and the purification
881 rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is
783 confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific
727 kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

756 The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fast-
[796] ing and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk any-
[784] where except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

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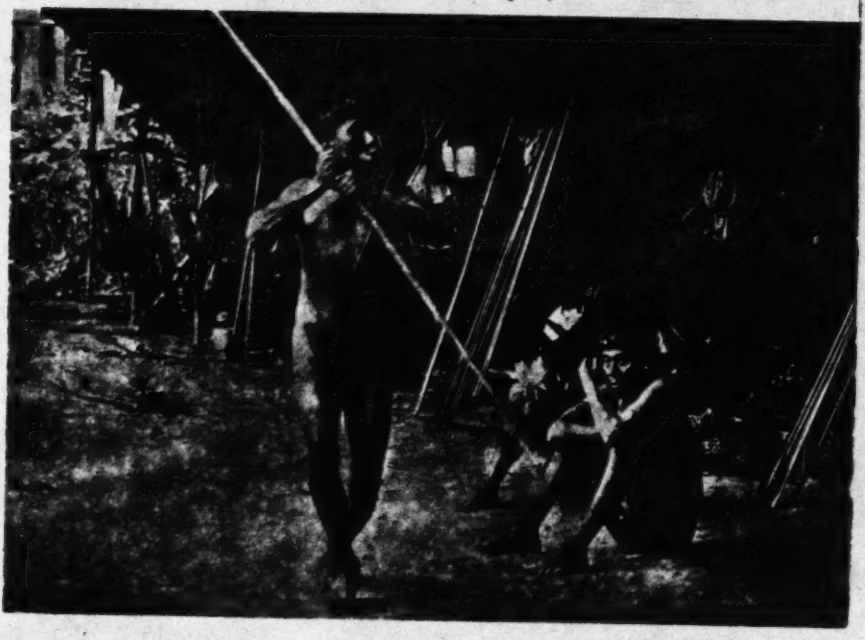
Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



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Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamu-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

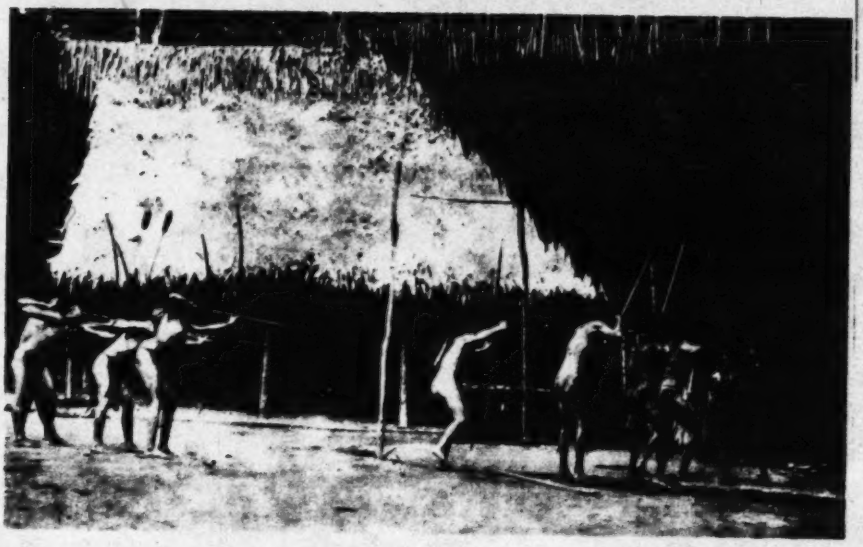

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Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

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way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

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The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnamamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their host village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

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other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Arawari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Arawari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kaimaãima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

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he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-3. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

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Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

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Fig. 2-7. Orazimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikeä*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

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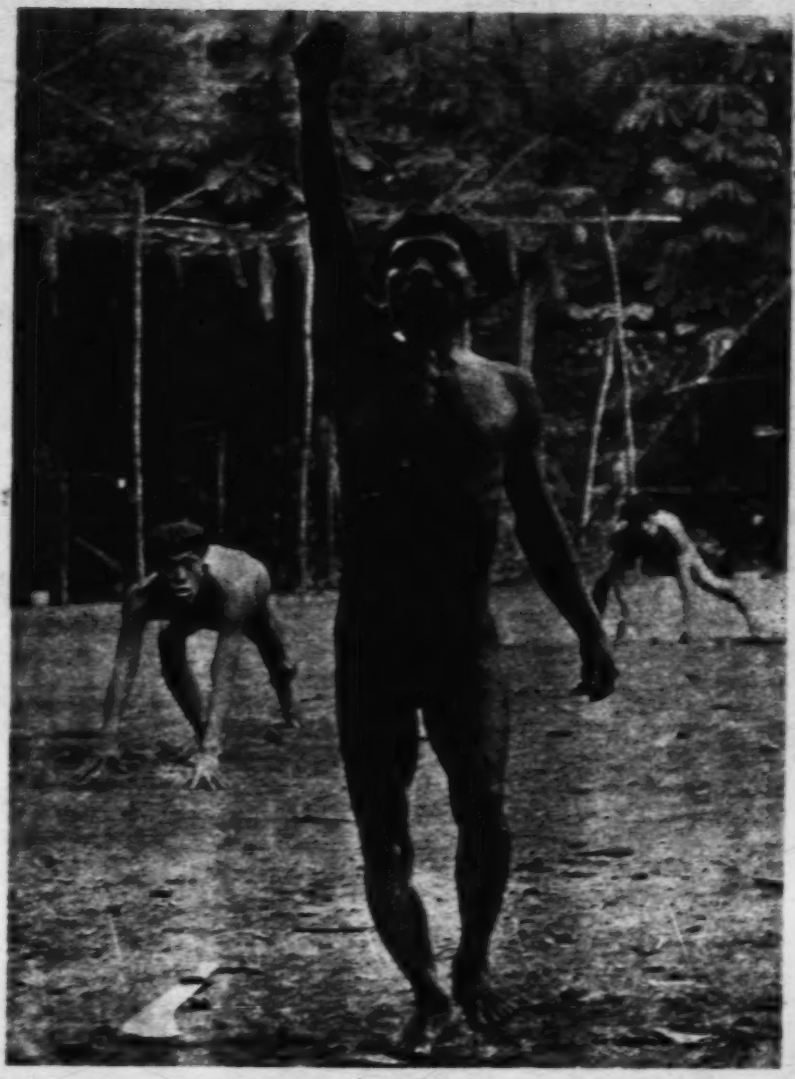

Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

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Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

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When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*mo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

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drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

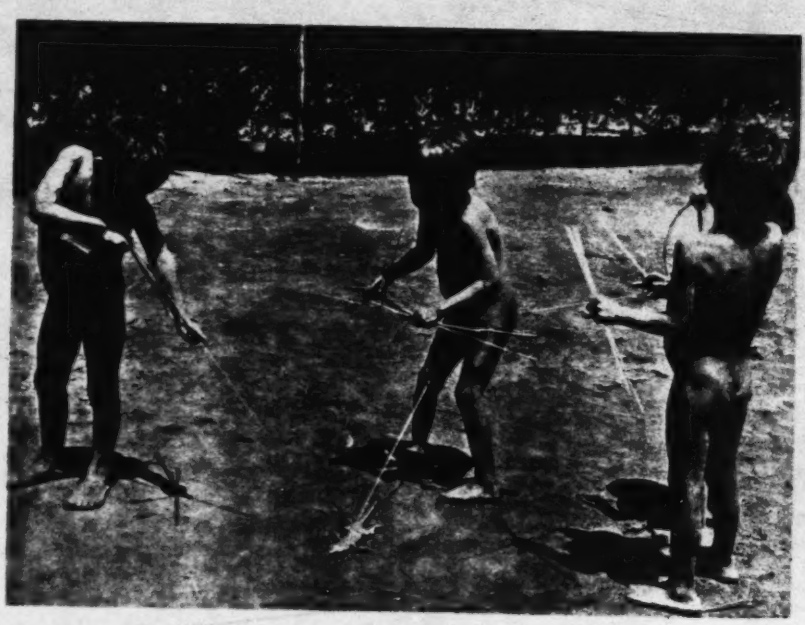

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

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On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

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Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his [illegible]nds, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

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giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so mnsiba*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2 Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

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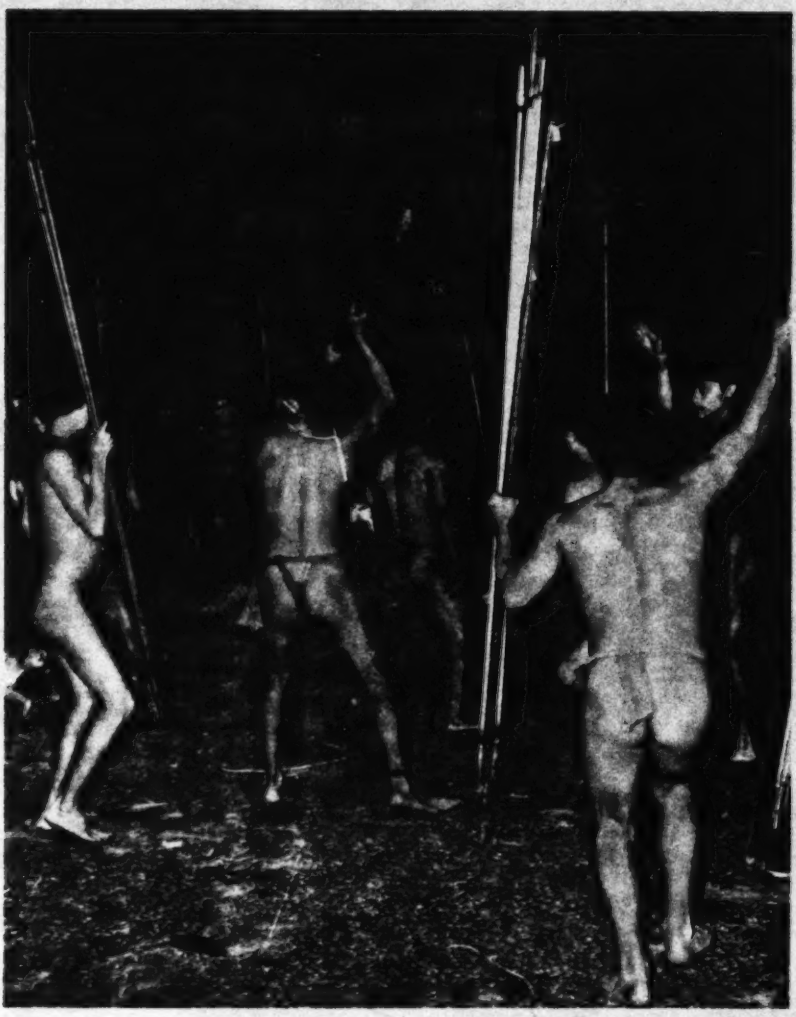

Fig. 4–3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

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his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

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Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; they permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

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these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

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Fig. 5-2. Kąobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

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children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kąobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

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and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou,* for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

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Fig. 5–5. Hukoshikuwë leading a raiding party against the Patanowë-teri.